

Message Text

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PAGE 01 HONG K 10789 01 OF 02 150939Z

21

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PAGE 02 HONG K 10789 01 OF 02 150939Z

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 10789

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1.2. LEADING PARTY AND STATE ORGANS ANNOUNCE THE DEATH
OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG
- 3.4. DOMESTIC REACTION
- 5.6. PERSONALITIES AT THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES
- 7. THE DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG -- CONTINUITY IN FOREIGN
AFFAIRS POLICIES
- 8. THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPE -- THE HARD LINE CONTINUES
- 9.10. THE UNITED STATES
- 11. INDIA
- 12. NORTH KOREAN NATIONAL DAY

SUMMARY. THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO IN PEKING IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF SEPTEMBER 9 AND THE FUNERAL ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MOURNING CEREMONIES WHICH FOLLOWED DOMINATED ATTENTION THROUGHOUT THE PRC. PERSONAL MOURNING WAS VISIBLE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND THE CROWDS IN TIEN AN MEN AND THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF GRIEF CONTINUED TO GROW IN WHAT IS BEGINNING TO APPEAR TO BE A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED CRESCENDO OF EMOTION. CONDOLENCES FROM THE PROVINCES AND CITIES HAVE STRESSED UNITY, THE CONTINUITY OF THE REGIME, AND MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE AS THE PATH FOR FUTURE ACTIONS WHILE THE LEADERSHIP TURNOUT, AS IN RECENT WEEKS, HAS GIVEN AN AIR OF COLLECTIVE SOLIDARITY. NEVERTHELESS, THE COURSE OF A POST-MAO CHINA REMAINS FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES. ON THE EXTERNAL SIDE, THE JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN'S DEATH ASSOCIATED HIM BOTH WITH THE PRC'S ANTI-SOVIET STANCE AND OPENING TO THE WEST IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INDICATING A CONTINUATION OF THESE POLICIES IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-MAO PERIOD. SUCH INDICATIONS TOOK ON ADDED SUBSTANCE WITH THE CHINESE REJECTION OF SOVIET AND EASTERN BLOCK (EXCLUDING ALBANIA AND RUMANIA) PARTY-TO-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 HONG K 10789 01 OF 02 150939Z

PARTY CONDOLENCE MESSAGES. A FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN TERMED THE MESSAGES "UNACCEPTABLE" BECAUSE THE CCP DOES NOT HAVE RELATIONS WITH ITS SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS. MEANWHILE, VARIOUS ADDITIONAL SIGNS INDICATED THE PRC WAS INTERESTED IN KEEPING BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. ON TRACK. END SUMMARY.

LEADING PARTY AND STATE ORGANS ANNOUNCE THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN

MAO TSE-TUNG

1. AT 4:00PM PEKING TIME ON SEPTEMBER 9, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, THE STATE COUNCIL, AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S MILITARY COMMISSION ANNOUNCED THAT CCP CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG HAD DIED OF AN UNSPECIFIED ILLNESS AT 00:10 HOURS THAT MORNING.

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2. AS IT BECAME INCREASINGLY EVIDENT OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS THAT MAO'S DEATH WAS IMMINENT, THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO HAVE MADE A CONCERTED EFFORT TO PORTRAY AN IMAGE OF UNITY, SHIFTING THE FOCUS OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING TO PRODUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION THEMES (HONG KONG 16032 NOTAL, PEKING 1780). BEGINNING WITH THE AUGUST 23 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL, WE HAVE SEEN A STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THIS TREND, INCLUDING A MAJOR LEADERSHIP TURNOUT FOR THE TANGSHAN EARTHQUAKE HEROES ON SEPTEMBER 1 AND THE HIGH VISIBILITY OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP DURING THE MOURNING SERVICES FOR THE CHAIRMAN. THE IMPACT OF MAO'S DEATH SEEMS MOST LIKELY TO RESULT IN A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT LOOSELY STRUCTURED LEADERSHIP WITH PREMIER/ PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG AS THE INTERIM LEADER. HOWEVER MANY QUESTIONS AND KEY LEADERSHIP VACANCIES -- SUCH AS THE PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP (UNLESS THE POSITION IS TO BE RETIRED), HEAD OF THE SENSITIVE MILITARY COMMISSION, PEOPLE'S LOBERATION ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS -- MIGHT AGAIN REKINDLE FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN UPCOMING MONTHS.

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DOMESTIC REACTION

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PAGE 04 HONG K 10789 01 OF 02 150939Z

3. PEKING'S POPULACE REMAINS CALM IN THE WAKE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S DEATH, AND LIFE APPEARS TO BE CONTINUING LARGELY AS NORMAL, ALTHOUGH WITH SOMBER OVERTONES. FEW OF THE TRADITIONAL WHITE FLOWERS ARE BEING WORN AS YET, BUT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE CAPITAL'S RESIDENTS ARE WEARING BLACK ARMBANDS. SHOPS CONTINUE TO REMAIN OPEN, WITH DISPLAYS OF BLACK-DRAPED PORTRAITS OF MAO IN THEIR WINDOWS. PUBLIC DISPLAYS OF EMOTION ARE RARE, BUT PRESUMABLY MAY INCREASE AS THE EFFECT OF THE CHAIRMAN'S DEATH SETTLES IN. TELEVISION COVERAGE, HOWEVER, HAS CLEARLY PORTRAYED A GRIEF-STRICKEN POPULATION SOBBING AND WEEPING AT THE SIDE OF MAO'S BODY, SECURITY PRECAUTIONS IN THE CAPITAL HAVE BEEN GRADUALLY INCREASED BUT DO NOT APPEAR TO BE OVERLY RESTRICTIVE AT THIS TIME (PEKING 1775, 1780, 1789). CONFIDENTIAL

4. PROVINCIAL CONDOLENCE MESSAGES ADDRESSED TO CENTRAL LEADERSHIP BODIES HAVE ALL EXPRESSED THEIR "PROFOUND" AND "DEEP" SORROW AT THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO. SIGNIFICANTLY, UNITY APPEARS TO BE A MAJOR THEME OF THE BROADCASTS. WHILE ALL OF THE TEXTS REFLECT TO SOME EXTENT LOCAL PROVINCIAL CONDITIONS AND PERSPECTIVES, MOST ARE FAIRLY CAUTIOUS IN WORDING AND LAY HEAVY EMPHASIS ON RALLYING "CLOSELY AROUND THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE." THE PREPEATED APPEARANCE OF THIS PHRASE UNDOUBTEDLY INDICATES A DESIRE ON THE PART OF CENTER TO FURTHER THE NOTION OF UNITY (HONG KONG 10683). FUNERAL CEREMONIES, AND IN PARTICULAR THE SEPTEMBER 18 TIEN AN MEN RALLY WILL AFFORD THE CENTRAL LEADERS LED BY PREMIER HUA FURTHER OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY ARE INDEED UNITED, ALTHOUGH THE LIKELY DURATION OF THIS UNITY REMAINS FAR FROM CLEAR. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PERSONALITIES AT THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES

5. CHAIRMAN MAO'S FUNERAL COMMITTEE, WHICH CONSISTED OF THE ENTIRE POLITBURO, PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND A LONG LIST OF GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT FIGURES, PROVIDED SOME USEFUL ISIGHTS INTO THE POWER STRUCTURE IN PEKING. IN BRINGING TOGETHER IN PUBLIC VIEW FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ENTIRE TENTH CONGRESS POLITBURO, THE CHINESE REVEALED THE RANKING OF ALL THE TOP CHINESE LEADERS EXCEPT THE AILING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 HONG K 10789 01 OF 02 150939Z

LIU PO-CHENG. THE RANKING REVEALED THAT FORMER PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN LI TEH-SHENG IS NOW NEXT-TO-LAST AMONG THE POLITBURO MEMBERS AND THAT THE THREE PROVINCIAL-BASED POLITBURO MEMBERS -- HSU SHIH-YU, WEI KUO-CHING AND LI -- ARE GROUPED TOGETHER JUST ABOVE THE BOTTOM OF THE LIST (HONG KONG 10733). IN ADDITION, THE FUNERAL COMMITTEE LISTING INDICATED BY ITS OMISSION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER/NCNA DIRECTOR CHU MU-CHIH, MINISTER OF RAILWAYS WAN LI, MINISTER OF EDUCATION CHOU JUNG-HSIN ADDITIONAL FIGURES WHO FELL IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING (HONG KONG 10634). LIMITED OFFI ADP593
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PAGE 01 HONG K 10789 02 OF 02 150839Z

21
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

FBIS OKINAWA

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

COMIPAC

CHMAAGCHINA

COMUSTDC

CDR USACC TAIWAN

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CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 HONG K 10789 02 OF 02 150839Z

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HONG KONG 10789

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

6. FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS ALSO IDENTIFIED HITHERTO LITTLE-KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE MAO FAMILY WITH REFERENCES IN THE INSCRIPTION ON THE FAMILY'S WREATH TO MAO'S SON, MAO AN-CHING, AND TO A MAO YUAN-CHIH, PRESUMED ELDER BROTHER OF THE CHAIRMAN'S NEPHEW MAO YUAN-HSIN. MAO'S TWO DAUGHTERS BY CHIANG CHING, LI NA AND LI MIN, WERE LISTED ALONG WITH MAO YUAN-HSIN AS MEMBERS OF THE FUNERAL COMMITTEE AND ALSO WERE NAMED ON THE WREATH. DURING THE COURSE OF THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES TO DATE, MAO'S WIDOW CHIANG CHING HAS NOT TAKEN THE TRADITIONAL WIDOW'S POSITION TO RECEIVE THE CONDOLENCES OF THE LEADERS AND MASSES BUT HAS STAYED IN

HER REGULAR POLITBURO RANK POST. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

THE DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG -- CONTINUITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS
POLICIES

7. THE CHINESE ARE CLEARLY SIGNALLING THAT THE MAIN LINES OF THE PRC'S FOREIGN POLICIES WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-MAO PERIOD. THE OFFICIAL OBITUARY IDENTIFIED THE CHAIRMAN BOTH WITH THE PRC'S ANTI-SOVIET POLICY AND WITH ITS POLICY OF OPENING TO THE WEST. THE OBITUARY ASSERTS THAT "HE INITIATED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT THE GREAT STRUGGLE TO CRITICIZE MODERN REVISIONISM WITH THE SOVIET REVISIONIST RENEGADE CLIQUE AT THE CORE." THE MESSAGE TO THE COUNTRY INCLUDES THE USUAL PRC ASSERTION THAT "WE ARE DETERMINED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN" AND DECLARES "WE MUST CARRY OUT CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE AND POLICIES IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESOLUTELY..." (I.E., THOSE POLICIES INCLUDING, AND GROWING OUT OF, A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.) (NCNA SEPTEMBER 9). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPE -- THE HARD LINE CONTINUES

8. THE CHINESE HAVE MOVED QUICKLY TO REJECT A TENTATIVE (AND RATHER TRANSPARENT) SOVIET PROBE ON THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, THUS REASSERTING PEKING'S HARD-LINE TREATMENT OF MOSCOW AND ITS EASTERN BLOC ALLIES.
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PAGE 03 HONG K 10789 02 OF 02 150839Z

FOLLOWING MAO'S DEATH, SOVIET MEDIA CEASED BROADCASTING ANTI-PEKING PROPAGANDA AND BEAMED CALLS TO CHINA FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EASTERN BLOC ALLIES (AND MONGOLIA) SENT PARTY-TO-PARTY CONDOLENCE MESSAGES ON THE DEATH OF THE CHAIRMAN (CONDOLENCE MESSAGES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE BEEN SOLELY ON A STATE-TO-STATE BASIS). THE CHINESE REACTED SHARPLY TO THIS LAST MOVE BY REJECTING THE MESSAGES -- EXCLUDING THOSE, OF COURSE, FROM ALBANIA AND RUMANIA. A FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN SAID THE MESSAGES WERE UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY DOES NOT HAVE RELATIONS WITH ITS COUNTERPARTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPE, INDICATING THEY WERE BEING RETURNED. (A STATE-TO-STATE MESSAGE FROM HUNGARY WAS ACCEPTABLE AND HAS BEEN PUBLISHED.) WIRE SERVICE REPORTS STATED IT WAS ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT CONDOLENCE MESSAGES FROM PRO-MOSCOW WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE BEING SENT BACK AS UNACCEPTABLE. THE CONDOLENCE REJECTIONS ALSO APPEARED RELATED TO THE CHINESE DECISION TO "DEMOTE" THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EASTERN BLOC ALLIES BY HAVING THEM PAY THEIR LAST RESPECTS TO MAO AFTER ALL OTHER MISSIONS --INCLUDING USLO -- AND IN THE SAME GROUP WITH FOREIGN JOURNALISTS (PEKING 1829, MOSCOW 14381, MOSCOW RADIO SEPTEMBER 11, REUTERS SEPTEMBER 14).

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THE UNITED STATES

9. WHILE THE PRC'S ANTI-SOVIET REACTION IS RECEIVING MOST PROMINENCE, PEKING HAS ALSO SENT OUT SIGNALS INDICATING A DESIRE TO KEEP SINO-U.S. RELATIONS ON TRACK. THE MFA OFFICIAL PRESENT WHEN USLO WENT TO DELIVER THE U.S. CONDOLENCE MESSAGES DELIBERATELY EMPHASIZED THAT THE CHAIRMAN'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD CONTINUE. ADDITIONALLY, IN CONTRAST TO THEIR REJECTION OF SOVIET BLOC MESSAGES, NCNA CARRIED THE PRESIDENT'S CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO CHINESE PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG, A STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE CHAIRMAN'S DEATH ISSUED IN WASHINGTON, A SAN CLEMENTE STATEMENT BY FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND A REPORT OF U.S. VISITORS EXPRESSING CONDOLENCES TO THE PRC LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON. THE SECRETARY WAS LISTED AS AMONG THOSE WHO CALLED AT PRCLO AND IN AN
CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 04 HONG K 10789 02 OF 02 150839Z

ARTICLE ON FOREIGN LEADERS WHO PRESENTED WREATHS IN MOURNING FOR THE CHAIRMAN (PEKING 1788, NCNA SEPTEMBER 12-14).
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10. THE VISIT BY DR. JAMES SCHLESINGER AND HIS DELEGATION (WR 36), AFTER AN INITIAL POSTPONEMENT IN THE WAKE OF THE CHAIRMAN'S DEMISE, WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RESCHEDULED. HE AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP WERE ACCORDED THE HONOR OF PAYING RESPECTS TO THE CHAIRMAN ALONG WITH CHINA'S CLOSEST INTERNATIONAL FRIENDS AND AHEAD OF MOST FOREIGN DELEGATIONS (PEKING 1836 AND 1809). UNCLASSIFIED

INDIA

11. NCNA REPORTED THE SEPTEMBER 10 ARRIVAL OF THE NEW CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO INDIA CHEN CHAO-YUAN (WR36), NOTING THAT HE MADE A "BRIEF SPEECH" AT THE AIRPORT. NEWS REPORTS FROM DELHI STATED THAT, IN HIS AIRPORT SPEECH, CHEN ASSERTED HE WAS "CONFIDENT" RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA "WILL IMPROVE" AND THAT HE WOULD MAKE "POSITIVE EFFORTS" TOWARD THIS END. THE REPORTS STATED CHEN REFERRED TO THE LAST 15 YEARS OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS AS "SOME SETBACK," BUT ONLY A SHORT PAGE IN THE LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND INDIAN PEOPLES (NCNA SEPTEMBER 11, DELHI GENERAL OVERSEAS SERVICE SEPTEMBER 10). UNCLASSIFIED

NORTH KOREAN NATIONAL DAY

12. THE 28TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DPRK (SEPTEMBER 9) WAS MARKED MAINLY BY A PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL. THE NORTH KOREAN AMBASSADOR DID NOT HOST THE TRADITIONAL

RECEPTION, NOR WAS THERE ANY RECEPTION BY CHINESE FRIENDSHIP
GROUPS. THE EDITORIAL REITERATED CHINA'S CAUTIOUS POLICY OF
SUPPORT FOR PYONGYANG'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL REUNIFI-
CATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA,BUT MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE
AUGUST 18 PANMUNJOM INCIDENT -- FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT PEKING
HAS CHOSEN TO AVOID PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN IT (HONG KONG
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